We and the Communists *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 18, 1964, 35 cents

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

The Grip of Defense

★ Half America's budget now goes for defense. Defense spending is the biggest public works program in America. Vested interests in this $50 billion annual bill are the toughest in the country. In his farewell address General Eisenhower warned the nation against the military-industrial complex. Tapering down this huge hunk of spending will be one of the hardest tasks the US ever faced. It is not certain the industry will let us do it.

The Cold War is beginning to melt at the edges. President Kennedy twice stated in the test-ban treaty debate that we have a nuclear over-kill to destroy the Soviets several times over. In January President Johnson ordered the first substantial defense cut-back, to his great credit. Furthermore, he wisely allocated most of the sum saved to his war on poverty. (If defense expenditures are slashed suddenly and no federal spending is put in their place, we will have a terrible slump.)

On March 31 in Los Angeles General Eisenhower said that defense spending could be cut $10 billion: down to $40 billion. He should know. The saving would more than pay for Mr. Johnson's war on poverty.

But can the cuts be made? Defense expenditures are to the economy what GAR pensions were to us for half a century. We had no social security system; the GAR political pension was a substitute. Today we have no adequate federal works program – instead every Congressman clamors to get a defense contract for his district.

End the system, substitute something useful? It will be a terrific battle. McNamara is the first Defense Secretary in years who has control of the military-industrial complex, and only precariously. They infiltrate everywhere; the Senate Armed Services Committee, for instance, is stuffed with reserve generals. It is part of prosperity. General Eisenhower specifically used the strategic stockpile program to fight a recession. A recent House investigation showed the 100 biggest defense contractors employed 261 retired generals and admirals. General Dynamics employed 186 retired officers of the rank of major or over, including three generals and 20 admirals. End the system; maybe we can; after all, the GAR pensioners finally died.

Un-American Activities

★ The House Un-American Activities Committee can create a riot any time it wants to, outside of Washington. The House slipped through its $300,000 appropriation last month, and Representative Ryan (D, N.Y.) told why he opposed it. In 26 years, he said, the committee has only produced three laws, one to correct an error it itself made earlier. It has the third largest committee staff in the House. "The committee has consistently created a cloud of fear and suspicion which stifles debate and dissent," Ryan said. Congressmen vote the money year after year because nobody wants to be called "radical."

Curiosity drew us to an HUAC hearing last week. What the country needs, we learned, is a "Freedom Academy." Representative Gubser (R, Calif.) testified that "freedom is losing to slavery all over; the world map is a seething blot of Communist-inspired trouble."

This curdled our blood, and we felt we ought to support Representative Bob Taft, Jr. (R, Ohio – and now candidate for Senator) who wants the Freedom Academy. Representative Gubser said it would "teach the tactics of espionage, subversion, infiltration, agitation and propaganda."

Another witness was Dr. Michael Conley, who established the Army's first school in counter-insurgency. A committee release said the Army had courteously assigned him to temporary home duty so he could testify on the Freedom Academy bill. Dr. Conley, an ardent and rather twitchy young man with a black beard, felt strongly that a Freedom Academy would do a great deal of good, in teaching guerrilla warfare and how to recognize Communist propaganda. We felt sorry for him because the Congressmen seemed bored and kept yawning. Our attention wandered, trying to compose a Freedom Academy Song, and we came away.

Bonus Army

★ Yes, we knew General MacArthur. He gassed us on July 28, 1932. It was a hot day and we were standing on the second floor of the partly demolished Ford Motor Building on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, watching the poor devils of the Bonus Army being thrown out of their tawdry tents and hovels by the Army with fixed bayonets. They were a poor, bewildered crew with their wives and children. Fourteen years before, they were heroes. The soldiers burned their tents and possessions behind them. The amazing thing is that they did not resist. They did not go fast enough, so MacArthur on his white horse, medals jangling, gave them a whiff of tear gas. Nasty stuff; it reached up to where we were and we had to be led down from our perch by a soldier.

Reams have been written about MacArthur. A great general, no doubt; some say a genius. But he ran up against a better man; a little ex-captain of Battery D, who had the guts to snatch him out of Korea when he proved insubordinate. The captain understood what the general didn't, that in a democracy civilians give orders. It was funny to see the eulogies of MacArthur collide with the posthumous publication of his shocking military views. He always struck us as the very type of bespangled hero, with an itch for the atom bomb, that the impatient crowd would turn to if disaster ever hit America.

★ *Notes in passing:* GOP revulsion to Barry, Rocky and Dicky aids Lodge; we still think Lodge only a 1-in-20 bet. . . . Speed On Capitol Hill Department (*The Washington Star*, April 3): "An obvious effort is being made to stampede the Senate into hasty action on the civil rights bill. It . . . should be forthrightly resisted. . . ."

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We and They

A world that has hardly had time to forget Stalin – or Hitler – understandably has difficulty in believing that Khrushchev at 70 is more interested in cheaper eggs for Soviet housewives than in closing his military gap with the United States. We speak of the American national interest; the Russians have theirs too; in both cases that interest is in peace and a rising standard of living. All else is secondary. Khrushchev, the realist, knows that a war between the Soviet Union and the US is a suicidal impossibility for either. In this, he echoes the thoughts of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. In such circumstances, and for pressing domestic reasons, too, Khrushchev would prefer to cut his military budget rather than increase it; so would the United States. In both countries defense cuts are popular, but in the US they must always be accompanied by reassurances that they in no way impair our military superiority; in the Soviet Union, defense cuts have to be defended in the face of insulting Chinese cries that Khrushchev is in cowardly retreat before the imperialists. Thus a Soviet spokesman, quoted on page 9 of this issue, explains that disarmament is consistent with revolutionary ideology, since taking away arms from the imperialists would prevent their intervening effectively in "national liberation struggles."

But we are slowly learning to put up with and see through Russian rhetoric about burials, and the Soviets perhaps are learning to listen without alarm to tough talk in this country of "victory." With luck we may be in for a long period of gradual unwinding of tensions, with East-West trade and other contacts steadily multiplying. Khrushchev's recent speeches seem to be aimed astutely at preparing the Russian people and the Eastern Europeans for that; and the question arises whether the Administration is wise to continue resisting the idea of trade credits. Does a less secure Russia mean a more secure America? More immediately and in the light of allied countries' eagerness to trade with Russia, Senator Fulbright has observed that the Administration's attitude may only deny the US a substantial share of a profitable market. The Administration may also be passing up an opportunity of putting to the test Khrushchev's professions of amiability. He says he wants to fatten up his people, and it is the opinion of some Western trading nations, especially Britain, that a plump Communist will be more dovelike. It is in everyone's interest that that assumption be given a fair test.

Traditional ties are loosening (and half-forgotten ones may be

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revived). Russia's grip on Eastern Europe has plainly slackened; Khrushchev said ruefully last week that when there is a storm in the forest the animals huddle together (and we huddled together gladly with the Russians 20 years ago), but when the storm blows over they scatter. This can be said today of the Atlantic Community as well as of the Warsaw Pact countries. Russia makes overtures to de Gaulle, just as he turns his face from Washington and toward America's present adversary, the Chinese. Who can now prophesy what new combinations may be in the making during the next decade?

It is against this shifting background that Senator Fulbright has called for a reassessment of our Far Eastern as well as our Soviet policies. He asks for an end of what he describes as an elaborate make-believe about China. There are two basic facts about China, apart from its current quarrel with Russia. One is that the Peking regime resembles that of Stalin, whom Mao Tse-tung professes to admire: its bellicosity much exceeds its capacity for aggression, with the result that its foreign policy is considerably more cautious than its whirling words might suggest. The second fact is that China, though comparatively feeble, can be a magnet for great masses of resentful people in have-not countries, as Russia was for 30 years under Lenin and Stalin. Neither fact receives due recognition in US foreign policy as now practiced. We are tempted either to side with Russia against China, or to play one off against the other. Yet both have to be lived with, somehow, and the relative reasonableness of Khrushchev ought to suggest that China is capable of becoming more reasonable in its turn. Meanwhile the US should be concerned to frustrate Chinese attempts to depict it to the have-not countries as a bloated imperialist power that is also anti-colored. We can counter that by what we do here at home with our own race problem, and by avoiding any appearance of ganging up with Russia against China.

King of the Mountain

Republican Rupture

Last week's Wisconsin Presidential primary, in which the LBJ slate of Governor John Reynolds picked up all of the state's 46 Democratic convention votes and a moderate Republican, John W. Byrnes, won the favorite son nomination of his party, resembled New Hampshire in that the battle was between Republicans. The Wisconsin GOP vote was distributed rather evenly between the bona fide and moderate Republican, Mr. Byrnes, and a Goldwater import from Alabama, Governor Wallace. Regardless of party, however, 75 percent of the votes went to the two candidates who are unequivocally committed to the pending civil rights bill. (Representative Byrnes voted for the bill in the House, and Governor Reynolds has endorsed it.)

This was not, of course, a contest for the Presidency; no possible candidate was on the ballot. Nor did all of the 25 percent who preferred Governor Wallace accept his view that the civil rights bill will undermine home, church, and job seniority. Wallace spoke to racial prejudices, certainly, but he also spoke to the anxieties of the extreme right over federal interference in general. That few Wisconsin Democrats supported Wallace is suggested by the fact that in a state which normally splits 50-50 between the two parties, Democratic Governor Reynolds received approximately 47 percent of the total vote.

Throughout the state, the Governor of Alabama ran best in GOP districts. An example is the village of River Hills, a well-to-do Republican suburb north of Milwaukee, where the median family income is over $1,000 a month. In 1960, River Hills went 77 percent to 23 percent for Nixon over Kennedy. Last week the same village gave Wallace 40 percent of its votes, Byrnes 40 percent, and Reynolds 20 percent. In the strongly Republican ninth district, Wallace came closest to beating Governor Reynolds. In the late Joseph McCarthy's district, the Governor of Alabama did very well indeed. Now the Wallace workers can take off

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their Wallace buttons and put their Goldwater buttons back on.

It was a costly primary for the segregationists. Full-page newspaper ads and TV commercials were plentiful. Wallace's objective in Wisconsin, as in Indiana and Maryland where he goes next, is to send a shiver or two up the spines of politicians in both parties; to weaken, if he can, their commitment to civil rights by raising the spectre of white voter retaliation. In Wisconsin, that cause was helped not only by large amounts of outside money, but by the unwillingness of leading Democrats in the state to confront him directly; he had the platform to himself. Against him, it is true, were virtually all the newspapers of the state, the religious groups and labor. Not one public official in Wisconsin, Republican or Democrat, supported him; they all criticized him. He may claim, therefore, to have triumphed over "the Establishment." But he did not triumph. His appeal to Democratic voters was insignificant; three out of four voters rejected him.

Lake of Perfidy

"As long as the moon rises, the grass is green, the river flows and the sun shines," the United States "will never claim" land in the Seneca Indian Reservation. Thus reads America's oldest treaty, signed in 1794, carrying George Washington's assurance that the land of the Seneca would be protected.

The river is the Allegheny, running through Pennsylvania and New York. It still flows, but part of it will shortly be turned into a 35-mile-long reservoir, flooding the heart of the Senecas' land and forcing hundreds of Indians to move. The reservoir, called the "Lake of Perfidy" by the Senecas, will be formed by water stored behind Kinzua Dam, a $119 million structure which the US Army Corps of Engineers is soon to complete. Kinzua is the largest and is said to be the most important project the Corps has constructed to protect Pittsburgh and the Allegheny and Ohio river valleys from flood damage.

Over 10,000 acres of the Senecas' 50,000-acre reservation will be under water by the start of next year. The reservation is 44 miles long, but only about one mile in width as it follows the course of the Allegheny River, along the banks of which most of the tribe's homes are located. The dam will flood them out.

In 1960 the Supreme Court upheld the right of the government to violate the treaty. Arthur E. Morgan, a former TVA director whom the Indians hired to fight the project, said it would be less expensive in the long run and would make better sense to divert flood waters through creek beds and canals into Lake Erie. But the Army engineers fought this idea because of its immediate costs and they claimed that too many other people would be displaced. So the big dam went ahead.

For many months the Senecas had little help in dealing with their predicament. By October, 1962, the Corps of Engineers still had not supplied maps to show where new roads, rights of way and installations were to be built. Last spring, Brooks Atkinson writing in *The New York Times* said, "The houses cannot be built until new roads are constructed. The roads cannot be built until the ground plans become final. The ground plans cannot be final until the Senecas know what Congress will do for them. Congress cannot decide what to do until the Senecas ask for an appropriation. The Senecas do not know how much money they will need until the planning engineers submit their plans, and government agencies reconcile their differences."

Congress has not yet been able to make up its mind how much to pay the Senecas for their land. They wanted about $20 million. The Senate has passed a bill granting them $9 million; the House version permits $16 million. The differences have yet to be reconciled by a conference and meanwhile time is running out. The flooding will begin by October. The Indians still have little idea where they are going to move and no money with which to do it. So much for the promises of George Washington.

Trial Without Jury

The Supreme Court has held that Ross R. Barnett, former Governor of Mississippi, and Paul B. Johnson Jr., the present Governor, may be tried without a jury for contempt of a US Court's direct order to them not to obstruct James Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi in September, 1962. Its decision was five to four, and the list of dissenters should have made interesting reading in Jackson, Mississippi. They were none other than Chief Justice Warren, whom the segregationists regularly attack as being singlemindedly intent on subjugating the South, and Justices Black, Douglas and Goldberg, also widely advertised as "radical." The anti-Barnett majority, as it will be conceived in Jackson, turned out to include the so-called conservatives such as Justices Clark and Harlan.

It is beyond argument that courts must have power to force individuals to obey their orders promptly, and this power was not in dispute in the Barnett case. A court may act against what is called contempt by jailing a recalcitrant individual and keeping him in jail until he obeys. But after its orders have been executed and the court is no longer protecting its immediate ability to function, may it undertake to punish an individual such as Barnett who has obstructed its orders

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in the past, and may it do so without awaiting indictment by a grand jury, and without trial by a petit jury?

This was the question before the Court, and it touches only accidentally on the current racial problem in the South. Historically, the issue goes back chiefly to the role of the federal judiciary in labor relations in the first 30 years or so of the present century. Before passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, federal judges often issued injunctions against strikes and other union activities, imposing punishment for criminal contempt without jury trial. This was an intolerably arbitrary and much abused power. But it is a power sanctioned by a long common-law tradition, and, with some exceptions, acquiesced in by Congress. This is why it was again affirmed by the Supreme Court in the Barnett case.

Nevertheless, it constitutes a glaring exception to our accustomed way of proceeding in criminal matters. If we value the grand and petit jury system elsewhere in the administration of criminal justice, there is no good reason why we should dispense with it here. The majority is to be commended for having at least indicated that a trial without jury will be permitted only if the punishment imposed is sufficiently minor to bring the crime into the category of petty offenses.

Rendezvous of the Federal Prosecutors

New York

There are four substantial witnesses against Roy Cohn on trial here for perjury and obstruction of justice. Two of them are convicted swindlers plainly hoping to lighten their sentences by coming clean. They are supported by the testimony of two of Cohn's closest friends, the nearest of whom cheerlessly confesses that he is going against Cohn to escape prosecution for perjury himself.

The government's case against Cohn yields to this crude summary:

In 1955, Samuel Garfield and Allard Roen, two Las Vegas friends of Cohn's, entered into partnership with Alexander Guterma for the fraudulent sale of stock in the United Dye and Chemical Corporation. By 1959, the United Dye operation fell under the study of a federal grand jury in New York, and Garfield and Roen faced indictment.

Garfield asserts that he asked Cohn's advice on how to salvage himself, and that Cohn offered to persuade the US Attorney's office to let him pass. The fee, Garfield swears, was to be $50,000 if Cohn were successful and nothing if he failed. In August of 1959 at Las Vegas, Garfield and Roen claim, they paid Roy Cohn $16,333.33 in cash and delivered $33,666.66 to a party represented to them by Cohn and by himself as Morton Robson, chief assistant to the United States Attorney of the Southern District of New York. Guterma and a number of others were then indicted, but Garfield and Roen were passed over.

Garfield's and Roen's immunity lasted barely a year; in November, 1960, they were indicted for stock fraud and conspiracy with Guterma. They were convicted and still await sentence: by the summer of 1962, they had been converted to cooperation with the government and were alleging that Cohn had helped fix the United States Attorney's office before what must by then have been their fifth grand jury. Cohn heard that Garfield and Roen had been talking about him and sent two of his friends to threaten all sort of reprisals if these two other friends went on telling what he insists are lies and what Roen insists is the truth and therefore sacred to any manager of a Las Vegas casino. Now Cohn sits indicted for having threatened two grand jury witnesses and for having himself lied to a grand jury about his relations with them.

The trial takes on a particularly nasty tone because it is a quarrel between three generations of federal prosecutors. Cohn was an assistant US Attorney in the Truman Administration and carried numbers of his old colleagues along with him to private practice. He is being tried by a Kennedy US Attorney's office whose case depends, if not on the certainty, at least on the suspicion that Cohn was able to fix an Eisenhower US Attorney's office.

The United States Attorney's office of the federal district of Southern New York is by custom headed by a distinguished lawyer hoping to be a judge, and staffed by hungry young men hoping to be successful lawyers. The average federal assistant is ambitious, hard and dependent for success upon his capacity to hector and to bully. Local district attorneys deal with comparatively healthy impulses like murder and armed robbery; the most conspicuous federal crimes are narcotics traffic, subversion and commercial fraud. These are offenses calculated to bring out the worst in a young prosecutor; dishonest businessmen, for example, seem as a class to be much readier to turn a friend in to save their own hides than ordinary thugs are. This lack of group loyalty is an unhappy aspect of most federal cases which are generally won by inducing a convicted swindler to testify against his indicted co-swindlers and thus pay a premium for dishonor.

Experience, therefore, conditions the young prosecutor to cherish the crook who turns in other crooks, a

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collaboration usually won by alternating threat and solicitude and dependent on mutual self-interest. Roy Cohn may well be by nature deficient in the capacity for uncalculated friendship, but his experience as a prosecutor was one that could hardly improve him.

He has his ethics of course. Frank Raichle, his chief defense attorney, explained at one point to his jury that "the prosecution point of view is so embedded in Mr. Cohn's mind that, when he took up civil practice, he decided not to defend criminal cases." The ethic which kept Cohn from defending the criminal in court did not, of course, inhibit him from association with the bad citizen as man of affairs. Cohn met Garfield and Roen in Las Vegas as extensions of his friendship with Moe Dalitz, the old bootlegger who is proprietor of the Desert Inn and the Stardust, two gaming casinos, employer of Roen and business partner of Garfield.

Dalitz and Garfield brought to the association the aura of their large, if in Garfield's case insubstantial, capital. Cohn brought an aura perfectly calculated to attract rich men who are not quite respectable: his past as an arm of the federal law enforcement power, his present as a friend of Bernard Baruch, Cardinal Spellman and J. Edgar Hoover.

The most damaging witnesses against Cohn all open their testimony by certifying their continued friendship with him. To a man like Garfield, Cohn, even in trouble, remains a power to be appeased.

"Look," one of his enemies said the other day, "don't get the idea that because Roy's on trial he's not a somebody to be reckoned with. Even if he isn't, he still looks like one, and that impresses these guys. Just a few months ago, he had a dinner for this American Jewish League against Communism thing of his and he gave the first annual George Sokolsky award to Cardinal Spellman. The head of the New York office of the FBI was there and went to the head table just to have his picture taken with Roy. What effect do you think that might have on somebody who might be called as a witness before the grand jury?"

Sam Garfield is an instructive witness on the character of these friendships. He is an ancient associate of the Purple Gang in Detroit and quite proud of his continuing fraternity with Jerry Catena, the Newark *mafioso*. The only tangible and direct threat from Cohn to which he could testify sounded like one of these misunderstandings which are apt to occur between friends who come to each other late in life from different backgrounds.

In August of 1962, Garfield says, Cohn called him, indignant at the report that Garfield was traducing him before the grand jury. "We have," Cohn is alleged to have begun, "some mutual friends, Mr. Lansky, Mr. Catena, Mr. Dalitz."

"I said," Garfield reports, "that if he was going to use these things, names such as that, which could only mean a threat as far as he was concerned – it didn't phase me any because these people were friends of mine, more so than him."

It seems perfectly possible that Roy Cohn meant no more than to remind Garfield that he was in no very good position to go around making wild charges against respectable persons and, if this went on, there was no telling what vengeance Cohn's friends from the FBI might take on Garfield's friends from the mob. But Sam Garfield seems instead to have assumed that Cohn was suggesting that, if he didn't stop, Cohn would have the Mafia throw him in the river.

The defense opened by producing S. Hazard Gillespie, the US Attorney who brought the first indictment against Guterma for fraud and looting and passed over Garfield and Roen. Gillespie swore that he had ordered the indictment that way on his own initiative and for reasons of strategy which he was proud to say had proven entirely sound. No one of his subordinates had told him what to do, he said. No one has ever suggested and no one could possibly think Gillespie a man possible to fix. Then the defense called Morton Robson, who had been Hazard's chief assistant and to whom Roen remembered paying $33,666.66 in cash at Las Vegas. Robson presented persuasive evidence that he had never been to Las Vegas in his life and there was nothing for Assistant US Attorney Gerald Walpin to do thereafter but chip at him with the inferences and innuendoes which are the stock of federal prosecutors with hostile witnesses.

There followed, from prosecutor's lectern and the witness stand alike, a dreadful display of the courtroom manners young assistants learn in any US Attorney's office. What would former prosecutor Robson say, present prosecutor Walpin asked, if the government presented two federal agents who would testify to their open indignation because Robson had decided not to indict Garfield and Roen?

"They are liars. Agents or not," Robson answered, glaring. "Government office apparently does not prevent persons from lying."

There is nothing in the record to suggest that Robson is anything but the victim of mistaken identity and innuendo. He is hardly the first witness in a federal prosecution to have suffered this embarrassment, but only a man hardened in the arrogance which comes from doing these things to others could have mustered a moral indignation quite this unattractive.

So here were Roy Cohn and Morton Robson, two former prosecutors, the one indicted, the other embarrassed on the testimony of two convicted swindlers. Only excess of malice could take comfort in their plight, and only excess of charity could find them sympathetic.

Murray Kempton

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FOREIGN REPORTS

BRAZIL: *Political What's What*

★ During one of Brazil's 1962 cabinet crises, a respected New York daily within four days characterized a new Prime Minister as a "leftist," a "conservative party" member and "middle-of-the road." After the latest revolt installed Deputy Ranieri Mazzilli as interim President, readers again had their choice: *Newsweek* called him "conservative," *The Washington Post* "middle-of-the road" and *The New York Times* "leader of the pro-Goulart faction in the Social Democratic Party."

In Brazil, there is a Right and a Left at the extremes, but in between – where a large majority of the parties and the votes are found – there is little resemblance to the political spectrums of Europe and North America. On the Right, there is a minuscule, Fascist-type party left over from the thirties, in eight Northeastern states where old-style "colonels' politics" persist on semi-feudal sugar plantations. In the Southern and Eastern states the old coffee oligarchy has given way to an "Establishment" of bankers and industrialists. On the Left, the Communists have both Moscow and Peking factions, but have been outlawed since 1947 and have fewer than 40,000 members. Most of their time is spent trying to infiltrate other groups.

In between is a vast, untidy assortment containing three large political parties, nine smaller ones and various non-party groups. The three big parties are the Social Democrats (PSD), National Democratic Union (UDN) and Brazilian Labor Party (PTB). They have dominated the scene since Getulio Vargas' dictatorship fell in 1945. Presidents Dutra and Kubitschek came from the PSD, Janio Quadros from the UDN and Joao Goulart from the PTB. According to wire-service folklore, the UDN is "conservative," the PSD is "middle-of-the road" and the PTB is "leftist." Such billings are approximate at best. The UDN and PSD appeal somewhat more to landowning and urban elites, and the PTB has some roots in organized labor, but all three are essentially broad, power-seeking outfits more interested in tactics than ideas.

National party politics are, after all, of fairly recent origin. Before 1930 the huge country was little more than a loose confederation of states, each with its own flag and customhouse: for the next 15 years, Vargas' Populist-style dictatorship dominated politics. Party differences are based more on historical, regional and personal ties than on a liberal *vs* conservative dichotomy. Vargas, who made a comeback as a constitutional President (1950-55), founded both the PSD and the PTB, courting the squirearchy with the PSD and urban labor with the PTB. The UDN was founded as an anti-Vargas vehicle and embraced diverse elements, including for a time the Socialists.

Brazil's system discourages party responsibility and favors *ad hoc* alliances. In Presidential elections, a state organization may bolt the party's national ticket. In the last Congressional election, the PSD and UDN were allied in three states, the PSD and the PTB in two others, the UDN and the PTB in yet another two. Almost half of the 409 Deputies elected in 1962 ran on coalition tickets so broad as to obscure affiliations.

Once elected, they often switch parties, sitting and voting with erstwhile opponents. Quadros had been with both the Labor Party and the Christian Democrats before winning the Presidency with the UDN in 1960. The Vice President may be elected from a ticket in opposition to that of the President (as was the case with Quadros and Goulart). Presidential aspirants, because of the direct popular vote, need a broader and ostensibly more reformist appeal than legislators, whose survival depends on local patronage and pork. The results are fantastic deals and combinations. All recent Presidents have resorted to them, but Goulart's seeming obsession with them was a factor in his downfall.

Outside the parties, there have been attempts to form broad "fronts" for policy purposes. First came alliances of state governors, reformist Congressmen, students and trade unions, to which Goulart looked increasingly for support. Nationalism and Populism remained the dominant motifs, but Communists did make increasing inroads in the unions and student groups. Then came counter-organizations by Sao Paulo businessmen, Catholic groups and opposite-minded governors, some but not all from the Right. From the counter-organizations came the civilian support for Goulart's ouster, triggered by his invitation to insubordination in the armed forces which brought the military in against him.

The recent Goulart period was a mixture of weakness, tactical pirouettes, camaraderie with Communists, opportunism and some genuine interest in reforms. It was naïve to regard it as a Red threat pure and simple. It would be equally naïve to hold that the new regime represents merely "gorillas" and the Old Guard. The Navy has been aristocratic, but Army officers come from middle-class backgrounds, include a wide spectrum of political views, and have been impressively dedicated to legality in many crises. Carlos Lacerda, for all his shrillness, has been an able UDN Governor in Guanabara. Another UDN Governor, Magalhães Pinto of Minas Gerais, is forward-looking. Governor Ney Braga of Paraná comes from the Christian Democratic Party, which has the most extensive reform platform of any legal party. Governor Adhemar de Barros of Sao Paulo, however, a staunch Catholic and anti-

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Communist, is an old-style Tammany type. General Amaury Kruel was once considered pro-Goulart; General Humberto Castelo Branco has been pro-legality and non-political. It is too early to say whether the reform potential of the interim government can be stifled by the *status-quo* opportunists who will surely try to capture it.

ALGERIA: *Chinese Laundry*

★ Algeria has fought a war of national liberation, embarked on the road to "socialism" and accepts aid from all quarters. The intellectual atmosphere of Algiers itself is giddy with Marxism. The physical atmosphere, on the other hand, is comfortably French, and the capitalist advertisements overwhelm the few banners and admonitions of revolution. In short, the suggestion is a little something for everyone, and that was perfectly agreeable to the 70 delegations gathered for the sixth session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council—until the Chinese washed dirty Russian linen in public.

Three major groups attended: the two big powers, China and the Soviet Union; countries that, like Algeria, are anxious to maintain their neutrality; and various groups from places like South Africa and Mozambique who are struggling for recognition and support for the current and coming guerrilla season.

The first speaker was Mrs. Kuo Chien, the Chinese delegate. Khrushchev's suggestion that border disputes might be settled without force was a "deceitful slogan," she said. The test ban was a "great fraud." The Russians were racists. Pointing a finger at the Soviet delegation, she declared roundly, "Since birds of a feather flock together it is not at all strange that you should stand on the side of the imperialists and colonialists."

This was strong stuff. Mr. Gafourov, a Moslem from Soviet Turkestan, said Moscow was not at all "soft on imperialism," and indeed stood fast in the armed struggle against imperialism. Far from being a fraud, disarmament would take away arms from the imperialists, who then could not intervene effectively in "national liberation struggles." The Russians were not racists. Mr. Gafourev said his friends from other delegations had recommended that he not reply to the Chinese accusations. Immediately the delegate from Tanganyika was on his feet, demanding to know how the Russian could dare speak for another delegation. Suddenly the Chinese leaped to *their* feet and began to shout, at which point the council retired behind closed doors where the quarrel raged on. A delegate from Kenya said that he had had enough. "When I take a sandwich someone asks me what I think of the Soviet position, and when I'm drinking my coffee somebody else questions me on the Chinese arguments."

Nuclear Power in Private Hands

The Democrats who used to be associated with public power are actively pushing ahead with development of nuclear power in private hands by means of a system of subsidies that now total more than a billion dollars. These policies originated in 1954, when a Republican Congress undertook to hand over to private power companies the fruits of a nuclear technology developed in the public interest at a cost to taxpayers of billions of dollars.

Today under a Democratic Administration this policy remains essentially unchanged. Indeed, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, is so keen to push on with it that he has been accused by some critics of running a promotional campaign for the private utilities. Dr. Seaborg thinks that nuclear power is on the threshold of becoming competitive with other ways of making electricity, and that the companies that operate the plants will require less and less government assistance. He feels it is doubly important to move on now with a nuclear power program, because during the latter part of the century nuclear power can provide a major share of the immense amount of electricity the country is then expected to need, and also because nuclear power will help to conserve the rapidly diminishing supplies of fossil fuels. The major cause for anxiety here is coal, the fuel that now provides most of our electricity. Conservative estimates are that the supplies of easily-mined coal will last about 100 years.

On their face, the government's objectives make a good deal of sense. There remain, however, some questions that appear to call for answers. There now are 12 nuclear plants producing power, eight of them private, and they do not contribute greatly to increasing the supply of electricity: even by 1980, nuclear power is not expected to account for more than 10 percent of the total production. Nuclear plants do not now help much in saving coal, nor will they for another 20 years or so; the plants now operating are not competitive with plants fired by fossil fuels, for they all have to utilize government props of one sort or another. And in any event coal offers stiff competition since its price is continually declining. The private companies involved in this program claim that nuclear power is economical and they see a splendid future for it; but at the same time, they seem leary of freeing themselves from government protection.

Is nuclear power likely to cut the cost of the electricity to consumers? Joseph Swidler, chairman of the

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Federal Power Commission, suggests not by an enormous amount, unless there are savings in transmission and distribution, the areas where the government and industry spend least for research.

The nuclear power plants now producing electricity for commercial purposes represent the first of three stages of development. The last stage, which the AEC hopes to bring to fruition in the 1980's, will result in wider-scale operation of a power plant that will manufacture large amounts of electricity and also will produce more fuel than it consumes. Its development will fit in well with changes which the electric power business is undergoing. These suggest that there will be fewer and fewer companies operating generating stations with capacities well over one million kilowatts a day. Blocks of electricity then can be shunted over interconnecting systems of extra high voltage lines for distances of more than 1,000 miles to eventual distribution centers. Nuclear plants are less expensive to build as they grow larger, and they thus have an added advantage in such a national "grid" system. Private industry is particularly eager to gain competitive advantage in such a national hookup; nuclear power promoted with strong backing from the AEC offers one way to do so.

But this is all in the future. It may be that the AEC could best serve its own goals in the meantime by concentrating on the development and research that must go into plants of advanced design, rather than spend money and time on persuading private companies to build facilities of current design. The plants that the private companies now operate are not of experimental design, calculated to advance the cause of technology; most of the experimental work is being done either by the government direct, or in publicly-owned plants.

The government might also better serve the goal of conserving fossil fuel supplies by spending more money on research which may extend the lives of those fuels by several hundred years. (This is a matter that the Office of Science and Technology has been stewing over for more than a year.) At present, the government spends 10 times more on its nuclear program than it does for fossil fuel research. Yet developmental work on boilers has resulted in cleaner burning coal which goes much further. Research into mining techniques holds out hope of opening up large supplies of coal now buried too deeply to mine economically. More work on transmission lines, as Mr. Swidler suggests, could result in increasing their capacities even further. Electric power might be produced at mine mouths in Utah or New Mexico, for example, and run by high voltage transmission lines to California which is short of power. Large mine mouth power plants built in Appalachia would not only provide work for coal miners there but would produce cheap electricity for developing the area. Extra high voltage transmission lines open up the possibility of markets as far west as the Mississippi on the one hand and the Northeast on the other where prices now are high.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

Rocky Mountain Politics

Albuquerque, New Mexico

It used to be said that the eight Rocky Mountain States are Goldwater country. They didn't belong to Goldwater before the assassination of John Kennedy; they belong less to him today. A poll in Wyoming before last November 22 showed that Kennedy would defeat Goldwater six to four, and that even the hard-pressed Democratic Senator, Gale McGee, would defeat any of the five Republicans opposing him.

The word to describe this region is: ambivalent. It says it can't live with the federal government, but it can't live without it either. A Western Congressman, home for the Christmas holidays, was telephoned by the president of one of the major banks in his state: "I want you to know," said the banker, "I approve of President Johnson's economy program. But I also want you to know that I don't think there's anything in this area that needs to be cut out." That sums it up. And astute politicians know it.

A classic example of how a conservative politician attunes his campaign to this ambivalence came out of Utah's Republican Senator Wallace Bennett's campaign for re-election in 1962. Two ads for Mr. Bennett appeared side by side on page six of the Emery County, Utah, *Progress* in its November 1 edition. At the bottom left was a standard Republican appeal to "vote for better, not for bigger government." The people of Utah were reminded that the "Republican Party stands for the principle that the federal government should act only when the people are not adequately served by state and local governments. Bigger government costs you money and freedom, too!"

But at the bottom right, Senator Bennett took credit

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for everything good the federal government had done for Emery County during his 12 years in the Senate. That ad told the voters that their Senator had "worked vigorously for authorization of the Upper Colorado River project, including the Emery County project; succeeded in getting the Senate to approve $450,000 so that work in Joe's Valley Dam could begin last year; successfully supported requests for nearly $2 million for Emery County projects in 1963."

Mr. Bennett's credits, according to the ad, also included his success in 1949 in getting SBA (Small Business Administration) to make a survey of the Carbon-Emery labor area, which served as a basis for its later designation as an area redevelopment region; and that he "asked for allocation of $150,000 for research on high volatile coal such as that in Emery and Carbon counties." The same format was used in county after county by the Senator. He was re-elected.

The Cody Club

Or take Cody, Wyoming, a small community outside the east entrance to Yellowstone National Park. H. L. Hunt, the radical right millionaire, has a ranch there. It was in Cody that the John Birch Society made its first appearance in the state. But before then, in 1959, the Cody Club (it doubles as the local Chamber of Commerce) had passed its own "declaration of independence from the federal government."

In the fall of '63, Senator McGee came under bitter attack in Cody for helping to get a designation for Park County (of which Cody is the county seat) as an "area of persistent unemployment" in order to help the area to obtain emergency federal help. He acted upon the petition of local residents, some of whom had helped pass "the declaration of independence."

Two of these requests to McGee came from the "sacred cows" of the town's business establishment – Husky Oil Company and Taggart Construction Company. For Husky Oil, it meant preferential treatment in bidding on the Department of Defense's "set-aside program of oil purchases." Taggart Construction Company would have benefited by getting a lower rate of interest on its Small Business Administration loans.

When McGee publicly tagged the two firms as having been involved in the petition for designation, officials of both – and it should be noted that these officials were also members of the Cody Club – denied it. The Senator was challenged to prove his allegations. He went to Cody to face a crowd of 400 which overflowed the hall early this year. His theme was "Hypocrisy"; he gave his audience "names and dates" to prove his contention. Mimeographed copies were passed out to the audience. The Senator's speech brought his audience to its feet in acclamation.

The Cody Club met a few days later to wrestle with its conscience. It resolved the matter by evading it. It passed a resolution commending Mr. McGee for his efforts to promote an all-weather highway through Yellowstone Park – to be built at federal expense. A top Republican in Cody confided to a McGee aide: "Thank God we're not voting today. McGee would carry Cody six to one right now." In 1962, Cody and Park County went heavily Republican.

The extent to which these Mountain States are federal dependents is not fully appreciated. Because they are so sparsely populated, their communities often lean heavily for support on federal money, particularly defense dollars. New Mexico, for example, benefits by more than $450 million in Atomic Energy Commission expenditures each year. Los Alamos is an AEC community, and the economy of Albuquerque gets a tremendous boost from the Sandia-Kirtland-ACF weapons complex, which employs thousands. Utah and Colorado claim large shares of defense expenditures. Only Connecticut and California top them. Last year, there were 36,856 military personnel on active duty in Colorado, and 14,470 civilian employees; Utah had a total of 23,862. The total payroll was $242 million in Colorado and $142 million in Utah. In addition, Colorado received $444 million in prime military contracts in '63, and Utah $408 million. It would be safe to say that, starting with the military-AEC budgets in those three states, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado get at least $1 billion a year in assorted federal funds annually.

Consistently, the eight Rocky Mountain States get back from the federal government more than they contribute. This was shown in figures, compiled by Tax Foundation Inc., of federal grants-in-aid to state and local governments in 1962. Figures are by millions of dollars and exclude grants for federal aid highways:

State	*What They Get*	*What They Pay*
Arizona	46.8	31.8
Colorado	73.5	49.5
Idaho	24.7	12.7
Montana	21.8	13.2
New Mexico	43.0	17.6
Nevada	12.4	11.3
Utah	28.0	19.1
Wyoming	10.9	7.8
	261.1	163.0

The percentage of federally-owned land in the Rocky Mountain States ranges from 29.7 percent in Montana up to 86.2 percent in Nevada. It is over 50 percent in two more states – Utah (67.3) and Idaho (64.4) – and nearly as high in two others, Wyoming (49.1) and Arizona (41.1).

This dependence on Washington is not always

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satisfying locally. Ranchers who lease land or get grazing permits from the Bureau of Land Management find it easy to come to regard it as part of "their" spread. Many of them agitate for its "return to the states" – a misnomer inasmuch as the great bulk of the land involved never belonged to the states in the first place. Their reliance on the decisions of federal agencies becomes, to use the words of Senator McGee, "more conspicuous." Few, if any, get exactly what they want in the way of rulings. Frequent brushes with the federal government are a constant irritant and often result in a creeping feeling of anti-federalism, a feeling that has been exploited by the John Birch Society.

The impact of this society and of the professional right-wingers in the Rocky Mountain States is difficult to assess. Earlier reports that the West was rampant with Birchers appear to have been in error, though pockets of Birch strength are still found in such urban centers as Phoenix and Salt Lake City, as well as on New Mexico's East Side, whose population overlaps from Texas.

The Birchers and other apostles of the far right have moved into long-established conservative groups in the rural areas. Perhaps their most effective device has been to supply speakers for Farm Bureau locals, in isolated rural communities and for state meetings. For example, Reed Benson, a Birch organizer and son of the former Secretary of Agriculture, was a speaker at the 1962 convention of the Wyoming Farm Bureau.

Mormons Criticize Benson

But they encounter opposition. In Idaho's predominantly Republican and Mormon Second District, Democratic Congressman Ralph R. Harding strongly criticizes Benson Senior, even though Harding himself is a Mormon and the former Secretary of Agriculture personally ordained him 14 years ago, when Harding was 21, and sent Harding off on a two-year proselytizing mission. Ezra Benson is a member of the Council of Twelve of the Latter-Day Saints Church; Benson calls the Birch Society "the most effective non-church organization in our fight against creeping socialism and Godless Communism." Last September, Harding attacked Benson's stated position and Benson's silence about Robert Welch, the founder of the Birch Society who called General Eisenhower a conscious and dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy.

Other Mormons have sided with Harding. Joseph Fielding Smith, president of the Council of Twelve, wrote to Harding that he hoped Benson's blood would be purified. Another, David O. McKay, wrote Harding that "we shall all be relieved when Elder Benson ceases to resist counsel and returns to a concentration on those affairs befitting his office." And Eisenhower wrote Harding: "Your honest and unselfish effort to set the record straight is something that warms my heart." Eisenhower added that he had not read Welch's accusation, because "I rarely read such trash."

Harding distributed copies of those letters in his Idaho district in an attempt to combat Birch Society recruiters who were persuading hundreds of young Mormons to join. For this he has been accused of making public a schism in the highest councils of his church. Harding believes it possible that this will hurt him in his campaign for re-election. However, the church itself has officially disavowed the Birch Society in a formal announcement that appears to point at Ezra Benson and his son Reed Benson who is the Birch Society's coordinator in Utah and Southern Idaho. The announcement deplores "the presumption of some politicians, especially officers, coordinators and members of the John Birch Society, who seek or pretend to have our approval of their adherence to extremist ideology."

It seems reasonably certain that the influence of the Birchers over the broad middle-of-the-road segment of the voting population in large sections of the West came to an end with the events in Dallas on November 22. The new profile in the White House has done the rest. Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats who are running for office this year in the West still have their problems, but their chances are brighter. Two Democratic Senators, Howard Cannon in Nevada and Majority Leader Mike Mansfield in Montana, look safe and have yet to draw any strong opposition. McGee and Senator Frank Moss of Utah have fights on their hands, but they may survive.

A key political factor in some of those areas was John Kennedy's Catholic faith. Few want to talk about it today, but one who will is Tom Brown, a veteran politician from Artesia, New Mexico, a small community deep in his state's East Side. Brown is Democratic national committeeman for New Mexico. While attending a meeting of the national committee in January, he told me that Johnson's popularity was high in his area, and he very frankly listed "religion" as the chief reason for the shift of many voters back to the Democrats. His corner of the state is heavily populated by Baptists and members of the Church of Christ. Brown is watching them return, one by one.

The swing back to the Democrats on the East Side in New Mexico could be decisive in the Senate race this fall. Republican Senator Mechem and his aides, cheered by Goldwater's popularity in this heretofore Democratic stronghold last year, were counting on heavy margins in East Side counties. Senator Mechem will need this majority to counter the heavy vote his opponent, Representative Montoya (D) will receive in "the North" of New Mexico, where the population is heavily Spanish-American. The Republican incum-

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bent will now have to rely even more heavily on Albuquerque and its large swing vote.

Finally, the "image" of Johnson seems to be coming through out here. One Westerner has pointed out that the very fact that he "talks more about how much he hopes to cut spending" is a comfort to conservatives, many of them traditionally Democratic. Mr. Johnson also has had frequent contact with the business leadership in Utah, in Wyoming, in Arizona and in Colorado; and in the West, to know a man is usually to trust him. The West knows very well of LBJ's fights for the oil industry and its depletion allowance, a "must" for Westerners of all political shades. It remembers, too, that he is for reclamation. The sound of his voice is familiar. Above all, his plea for economy is soothing in sagebrush country, where men do not talk in billions, though they may have made millions.

Paul R. Wieck

With All Deliberate Delay

Some Thoughts on Streamlining the Senate

by Joseph S. Clark

I had been dining at my brother-in-law's house when shortly before midnight on August 28, 1957, I got a call from Bobby Baker. "Please come down and help us out," he said. "Senator Church has been in the chair since six o'clock and is tired out." I dropped my wife at home and drove to the Senate in my dinner coat and black tie. The grateful Senator from Idaho turned over the Vice President's chair to me and went off to a well-deserved rest.

There on his feet in the back row was the Junior Senator from South Carolina, Strom Thurmond, looking fresh as a daisy, reading excerpts from the laws of each of the 48 states dealing with civil rights. He spoke in a low but audible voice. He had been at it since a few minutes before nine o'clock that evening. He was engaging in a filibuster against what shortly thereafter became the Civil Rights Act of 1957. About 3 a.m. Barry Goldwater wandered in and asked Strom to yield to him. Strom asked unanimous consent that he might yield briefly to the distinguished Senator from Arizona without yielding his right to the floor. I could have objected from the chair under the rules, but did not do so. Instead, I inquired of the practically empty chamber: "Is there objection?" And then: "Hearing none, it is so ordered." Strom went to the men's room. Barry spoke for a few minutes on a subject that now escapes me. In short order Strom returned and resumed discussion of the civil rights laws of different states.

I had a weary page who had been left on duty bring me a copy of *The Washington Post*. My alert gaiety had worn off and I was sleepy. I leaned back in the overstuffed swivel chair of the VP, spread a double page of the newspaper over my eyes to keep out the glare of the lights from overhead and went to sleep.

Around seven o'clock in the morning I awoke, feeling quite seedy, and began to complain about my long ordeal. Strom was still going strong. Bobby Baker had spent the night on a sofa in the Democratic Senate cloakroom. A page aroused him. He sent out for reinforcements. At eight-fifteen Dick Neuberger of Oregon arrived, fresh from a good night's sleep, and took over as acting President Pro Tempore of the Senate – the Vice President and the President Pro Tempore being, in the words of the *Congressional Record*, "unavoidably absent." Strom talked on for over 12 more hours. He had held the floor for 24 hours and 18 minutes.

Obviously none of this makes the slightest sense and should not be tolerated. It is not tolerated in any other legislative body in the civilized world. A useful reform would be to prohibit any Senator from holding the floor for more than two hours, except when floor-managing a bill or by unanimous consent.

Rule XXII requires 16 Senators to sign and file a cloture petition asking that a vote be had 48 hours later whether or not to limit further debate on the *pending business*. When the vote is taken, two-thirds of Senators present and voting are required to vote in the affirmative in order to limit debate. If they do so, each Senator is permitted to speak thereafter for one hour.

Joseph S. Clark, *the Senior Senator from Pennsylvania, is the author of* Congress: The Sapless Branch, *from which book this article has been adapted. The book is to be published next month by Harper and Row.*

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Assuming a close vote in favor of cloture, there might still be 30 additional hours of debate on the pending business before it could be brought to a vote. Toward the end of a session, to permit 30 hours of debate on one bill is not feasible. Thus it is practically impossible to pass any legislation to which the South, or any other small group of determined Senators, seriously objects unless it is done early in the session. But the *pending business* is often only a preliminary motion to take up a bill. So the whole cloture procedure, if successful, has to be invoked all over again.

Musty Precedents

What then happens to amendments which have been filed to the bill, when it is brought up? The one-hour-per-Senator rule would seem to apply to them, if they were not called up before the second cloture vote. If there were a dozen or more amendments, they could not all be discussed adequately. If, however, an amendment *were* called up before the second cloture petition was filed, the cloture might apply only to the amendment, and accordingly the process would have to be repeated for the third time.

In view of these complications, whose ramifications are almost infinite, and each of which requires complex parliamentary rulings based on musty and frequently irrelevant precedents, or no precedents at all, I believe it would be wiser to abandon Rule XXII in its present form, and reinstate the right to move the previous question as it once existed in the Senate, and as it now exists in the House and in most state legislatures. This could be done by adding an amendment to Senate Rule XXII which would permit debate to be terminated, on the motion of any Senator, whenever any measure had received consideration for a total of 15 hours, during three calendar days.

Early in 1964 the Senate adopted a rule requiring debate to be germane for three hours each day. It rejected an amendment I proposed which would have permitted the floor manager of a bill or the Majority Leader to require all debate to be germane until the pending business was disposed of. Several Senators, particularly Senator Dirksen, who greeted the possibility of the Senate adopting a rule of germaneness with hoots of derision, have been trying to discredit the new rule by various tongue-in-cheek parliamentary objections. It is too soon to tell whether this effort at sabotage will be successful. Experience, however, indicates that a more flexible rule would work better.

It should also be possible for committees to meet while the Senate is in session, without unanimous consent – consent that is often refused, particularly during a filibuster. For example, during part of the summer and fall of 1963, in anticipation of civil rights action, Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina was under instructions from the Southern bloc to object to any committee meeting while the Senate was in session. Mr. Johnston is a kindly and accommodating man. As the fall wore on and it became clear that the House "Establishment" would stall the civil rights bill in that body until the end of the year and that the Senate leadership had decided on the strategy of waiting for the House bill before initiating Senate floor action, Johnston relented and withheld his objection wherever he was persuaded that no damage to the Southern cause was directly involved. However, during consideration of the tax bill early in 1964 Senator Dirksen prevented most committees from sitting.

Significantly, the Appropriations Committee obtains unanimous consent at the beginning of each session to sit at any time whether or not the Senate is in session. The alleged reason for this exception is that the committee meets in the Capitol near the floor and can respond promptly to quorum calls and votes, while other committees meet across the park in the Senate Office Buildings and take five or ten minutes to get to the floor after the bells ring. The real reason is that the appropriations bills would *never* get out of committee if meetings were not held while the Senate is in session.

Then too, a way must be found to lighten the burden of multiple committee assignments. One morning late in November, 1963, I had four committee meetings at 10 o'clock. One was a hearing before the Subcommittee of the Labor Committee on Manpower and Employment, of which I am chairman, where witnesses from the Defense Department were to testify on the impact of defense contracts on employment and unemployment. Another was a hearing at which Senator Fulbright and Secretary of the Treasury Dillon were to appear in opposition to the Mundt bill prohibiting the Export-Import Bank from insuring credits extended by banks to grain dealers selling wheat to Russia. While this hearing was before the full Committee on Banking and Currency, it ordinarily would have been held before the Subcommittee on International Finance, of which I am chairman. Since Senator Robertson, the chairman of the full committee, favored the Mundt bill and I opposed it, and the vote on the bill in the committee was sure to be close, I felt it important to hear all the testimony and interrogate the witnesses.

The third meeting was an executive session of the Rules Committee on the Bobby Baker case, where important questions of procedure were to be decided. The fourth was a meeting of the Special Committee on Problems of the Aging.

In the end I persuaded Senator Randolph to chair the employment hearings, and I read later the prepared statements of the witnesses. I notified the Aging Committee staff that I could not be present, and spent the

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morning running back and forth between the fifth floor of the New Senate Office Building and the third floor of the Old Senate Office Building, picking up as much about wheat sales to Russia and Bobby Baker's fabulous career as I could.

Enough has been said to make the point that the present committee assignment load on Senators, even as far down the seniority list as I – and I am number 50 – is heavier than it ought to be. On Senior Senators it is much too heavy to permit effective service.

The remedy is simple. No Senator should be permitted to serve on more than two legislative committees. The present rule that no Senator should serve as chairman of more than one committee should be extended to subcommittees – and particularly to subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee. Where necessary the size of the committees and subcommittees should be reduced to make these changes feasible.

Senator Russell would have to give up two of his four committees, keeping, presumably, Armed Services and Appropriations, but relinquishing his chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Appropriations on Defense. I would have to relinquish one of my three legislative committees (Rules, Banking or Labor) and one of my two Subcommittee chairmanships (Employment and International Finance). If the size of committees and subcommittees were cut, I would probably lose my position on the Subcommittees on Education (under Labor), Housing, and Production and Stabilization (under Banking). But in return I would have a manageable workload and could dig much deeper into the areas of legislative responsibility I retained.

Electric Voting Machines

If we are to get our work done with deliberate speed, rather than deliberate delay, electric voting machines should be put in both houses, as has been done in many state and foreign legislatures. I have inspected the devices in the Swedish Riksdag in Stockholm. Without leaving his seat, the member votes by pressing a button on his desk. His vote is immediately indicated by the flashing of a light on the desk of the presiding officer. A simple counter records the total "ayes and nays" and also how each member voted. The result is announced almost immediately. Each member can verify his vote and protest if he has been erroneously recorded. The whole process takes approximately two minutes.

In the Senate a roll-call vote takes at least 15 to 20 minutes, and on a busy day on the floor there may be as many as 10 roll calls. There are already lights and buzzers in Senate offices. It would be an easy matter to provide a warning signal of a few minutes to bring members to the floor in ample time for a vote.

And while the electricians are in the Senate chamber they might as well install some microphones, as has already been done in the committee rooms, so that soft-spoken Senators could be heard as well by their colleagues as leather-lunged Senators.

Another proposal which would save time without doing violence to the bicameral concept of the Legislative Branch would be to schedule joint hearings of House and Senate committees on legislation pending in both Houses whose passage is desired by the Administration and the leadership. This procedure would eliminate one appearance before the Congress of hard-pressed and overworked Administration witnesses. It would be particularly helpful on appropriations bills, where the testimony is, or could be, largely identical. Having heard the evidence and questioned the witnesses together, the two subcommittees of the Appropriations Committees could retire to mark up the bill separately and report it, through their parent committees, to the floors of their particular chambers.

There is, moreover, no valid reason, other than false pride on the part of the House, why the Senate should not act first on half of the appropriations bills. This, too, would expedite significantly the processing of the bills. The same principle would be well applied to much other legislation, particularly tax bills. Many weeks would have been saved if joint hearings had been arranged on the tax reduction and reform bills of 1963.

But the single most desirable change in the present attitude of both Houses, a change which would do more than any other to bring the President and the Congress together on a program for the country, would be passage of a concurrent resolution committing both Houses to bring to a vote on its merits any legislative proposal on which the President requests prompt action within six months of the date his proposed legislation is sent down to Capitol Hill. In this way the original intention of the framers of the Constitution could be resuscitated. The President would report annually on the State of the Union and how he had performed his duty to see that the laws should be faithfully executed as provided in Article II of the Constitution. He would make his recommendations for needed legislation to the Congress; send down his budget; and the legislative arm would promptly act on those recommendations – accepting some, modifying others, rejecting still others. It would then pass and send to the President for veto or approval such other laws as in its wisdom, exercising its extensive powers under Article I of the Constitution, it thought should be enacted, and go home by the middle of the summer.

Until the Congress accepts this obligation there is little hope that our tripartite system of checks and balances, with all its frustrations, roadblocks to needed action, and callous disregard of the public interest, can measure up to the responsibilities placed on it.

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MacArthur the Soldier

The late General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was endowed with a brilliant mind and with a flamboyant personality made even more vivid by deliberate showmanship. He was inevitably a controversial figure, inspiring the utmost devotion in some and dislike in others. He was honored as few American soldiers have been, but failed in his command in the Korean War.

MacArthur's World War II campaign in the Pacific, from Australia through the Philippines to Japan, was a marvel of ingenuity; his use of airborne and amphibious troops was a model of adaptation and strategic use of new methods. In little more than 12 months, he advanced 1,300 miles northwest from New Guinea, cutting off 135,000 Japanese troops beyond hope of rescue. With the capture of Moratai, MacArthur was within 300 miles of the Philippines.

Although the Navy would have preferred to bypass them and take Formosa, the Philippines were liberated, and from the political point of view this was important. The Philippine Islands were wards of the United States, pending independence. MacArthur himself was committed: arriving in Australia after a perilous trip from the Philippines by PT-boat and airplane, he had announced: "I came through [2,500 miles of enemy-controlled waters] and *I shall return.*"

The campaign in the Pacific proved MacArthur to be, according to Field-Marshal Bernard Montgomery, "the best soldier the United States produced during World War II. He fought a wonderful campaign in the Pacific." Then followed five years as the US pro-consul in Japan, perhaps MacArthur's finest hours. The sweeping land reforms that he authorized laid new foundations for a more democratic Japan; and grateful Japanese still stoutly defend the rights conferred on them in the document – which ironically the US government now disapproves because of its anti-armaments clauses – called "the MacArthur Constitution."

The North Korean invasion caught the United States and MacArthur by surprise. He intervened as rapidly as he could with his half-strength military government units scattered over Japan. The North Koreans finally were held around a small perimeter protecting the South Korean port of Pusan. It was touch and go whether the perimeter could be defended. Nevertheless, MacArthur held out his reinforcements – the First Marine Division and the Seventh Army Division – and instead used them to make an amphibious landing at Inchon, a port near Seoul, the capital of Korea. That landing was opposed in most official quarters. By some it was given one chance in a thousand. It succeeded beyond all expectations, in spite of 31-foot tides. The enemy had not believed that anyone would attempt an amphibious landing under such adverse natural conditions. It was a feat comparable to the storming of Quebec by Montcalm. The euphoria it engendered led MacArthur to feel that anything he touched thereafter would turn to gold. Here began his strategic blunders.

Anxious to return the capital of Korea to President Syngman Rhee, MacArthur ordered the Marines to take the city of Seoul. The Marines fought through the city, mostly by blasting paths through houses, and only drove the North Korean defenders back on their line of retreat. Seoul could have been passed by to wait for the Eighth Army to invest it.

The next blunder was MacArthur's decision to make an amphibious landing at Wonsan on the eastern coast of Korea. This required the reloading of the First Marine Division on transports, and the shipment by rail and truck of the Seventh Infantry Division to Pusan for loading on ships. Altogether a month was lost in these operations, with the two best divisions in the command out of action. By the time the Marines and Infantry had landed at Wonsan, the allied Korean Capital Division had captured the city and was 50 miles north of it up the coast. MacArthur's staff disagreed with his plan. They knew that the troops could march across the narrow peninsula and reach Wonsan much earlier than by moving 850 miles by ship.

One of the elementary military axioms is to pursue a defeated enemy without remorse and to the exhaustion of your own men. Had MacArthur pursued this policy with the First Marine and Seventh Army Divisions, they would have reached the Yalu River weeks before the Chinese were ready to intervene. It is not unlikely that if the line of the Yalu had been occupied before the Chinese were ready to enter Korea, they might have accepted the *fait accompli.*

MacArthur was relieved of his command in Korea by President Truman, not for blunders of generalship, however, but for insubordination. He was under instructions to make no public statement on matters of policy or politics. This he disregarded, sending a letter highly critical of official policy to the Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives (it was published in *US News and World Report*), after which he sent a similar message to be read at a convention of veterans. More important, he had been informed that the United Nations was about to put forward an armistice proposal, which MacArthur did not like. He thereupon made his own proposal to the enemy commander, thus deliberately blocking the UN effort.

THOMAS R. PHILLIPS

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Mood and Revelation in the South

by Robert Coles

Just a few weeks ago in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, I was sitting in a courtroom with a young man who had once been charged by that state with the "criminal anarchy" of trying to alert his people to the possibility of the vote – not that those who *do* vote in Louisiana, and other states too, always shun the criminal anarchy of some of their elected officials. Two years of litiga-

The Keepers of the House
by Shirley Ann Grau
(Knopf; $4.95)

tion still found this college student facing undaunted segregationist justice – and in this case a kind that had once driven the youth near insane, and could likely do so again.

In such a state Shirley Ann Grau lives, and of such matters she writes – of black and white caught in the tension between their private lives and a society commonly less than just or charitable to all its blacks and enough of its whites who are unimpressed by the validity of its racial conventions.

The story of her latest novel is simple: Abigail sets out to tell about her family's long and fairly aristocratic history, including the most recent moments which have resulted in her lonely but defiant position. We learn about her grandfather, Will Howland, a wealthy farmer descended from generations of similarly established and prosperous people. He is the comfortable man in the midst of relative poverty and occasional desperation. As a young man he lived in Atlanta two years studying law, and while there met his wife. They returned home to his town in Alabama, though the town can clearly be located allusively anywhere in the Gulf Coast states, the heart muscle of the Confederacy. His wife bears him two children, but dies shortly after delivering the second one, and that one dies a year later.

Will Howland spends his major energies thereafter at his work, growing crops, developing a dairy farm, sitting on the slow realization that his land is worth a fortune for its wood alone, wood for pulp for paper. His daughter Abigail marries and shortly afterwards he meets a young Negro woman and takes her as his mistress. They have three children. In the midst of this his daughter Abigail, separated from her husband, returns home with her daughter, also Abigail. The younger Abigail lives and plays with her mother's half brother and two half sisters. All three of these children are eventually sent north to school, to avoid the fate of the Southern Negro. Abigail also leaves home for college, and in times marries an ambitious law student who hopes to be governor of the state. They have four children, and he works hard at politics, and soon he has the governorship in his apparent grasp with a victory in the Democratic primary.

During the campaign he had made the required racist remarks and one of them had made its way north to Robert, his wife's mulatto half uncle and Will Howland's only son by his Negro mistress. Robert returns enraged and looking for vengeance. He reveals that his father had secretly married his mother in Cleveland, thus making their children legitimate. A segregationist thus becomes kin by his wife to a Negro and, of course, even a Republican is preferable. (Sperm have always been allowed their willful racial abandon, but the courthouses with their license bureaus are an entirely different affair.) The book ends darkly: the politician leaves his wife and children, thus clearing himself of the devil's work in the hope that a few years' forgetfulness will allow him another political try. His wife is left to face an angry mob bent on destroying their home, and is only narrowly saved by her own ingenuity and steadfastness. She confronts Robert with his outsider's thoughtless, ill-informed, presumptuous behavior and her town with the penalty they must expect for theirs, economic ruin at her wealthy hands.

Plot aside, it is a Southern novel alright, and one often beautifully written: the flowers and trees in all their semi-tropical variety and abundance; the kin that connect and connect until you think everyone is related to everyone else; the swamps and rivers and bayous – much of the region is graced with water enough to make its rich and black or copper-red land seem fresher than the rest of American soil; the birds, grateful in their wide assortments for the temperate climate – herons rising out of a bleak patch of wet, wild grassland and ranging near moss dripping oaks are an unforgettable sight; the special food and the names for the food; and everywhere the special relationship, grounded in history, buttressed by customs, insisted upon by laws, of Negroes and whites, so close to one another, so dependent upon one another, so mutually frightened.

I read this novel on my way to present a paper on the psychiatric roots of prejudice. I felt like throwing away my "reports" and reading passages from this almost haunting book, stunning passages, descriptions of how a Negro child of mixed blood grows, sees the world, and learns its severe lessons on skin color and human worth. (Most Negro children in the segregated South *are* of mixed blood, and I have seen pictures of their white forbears on flimsy cabin walls, a startling experience for a naive if earnest "field worker.")

Shirley Ann Grau has been demonstrating her gifts as a sensitive observer of human development and growth for some time now. With a few words she can establish a mood, mixing man's emotions with appropriate reflections of them in landscape. She knows her heavy, low Southern moon, her Southern turtles and snakes and herb gardens. She knows the old houses with their long windows and the nodding breezes which come upon thankful, clammy skin. She knows the people,

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let her love you

VENUS PERALTA, FILIPINA, AGE 4. One of five children. Father dead. Mother earns about 50c a day. Sells fish in market. Lives in one-room shack in squatter area. Roof rusty galvanized tin salvaged from cans. Walls scraps of firewood. Cooking and washing done in lean-to. Children ragged. Main food source sweet potato patch. Privation acute. Mother sickened with despair for children. Help to Venus means help to whole family.

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knows the ambiguities of race relations, the devices, pretenses, ironies, absurdities, and incredible frustrations, all of them constant reminders of the mind's capacity for illusion, rationalization and even delusion under an irrational but powerfully coercive social and economic system. She knows the Negro as an emotional alternative for the white man's personal loneliness or isolation. She knows the white man as an awesome, enviable attraction for many Negroes. She knows how a Negro mistress must silently and discreetly grieve at her white man's death; and she knows the rising warmth and fear which struggle in a white man when he begins to respect a Negro rather than use one.

Most significantly, she writes at a time when she can know some answers, too. For this is a novel which in its own sudden and firm way has a statement to make. Robert is, after all, the composite Northerner, the outsider, black and white, and the South has its reasons to fear and hate him. The author does not shirk the complicated nature of the problem. Her segregationist is no demon, but any region's ambitious, aggressive politician. He can be tender with Negroes, affectionate with his family, can even disbelieve his own racist talk. How many Americans can really get very smug with him or about his adjustment to his society? And who can deny his wife her anger at what this "outside agitator" has done?

The South's Negroes and liberal whites have a real need for national help in their struggle for freedom. Yet I have seen dedicated Negro and white students of the sit-in movement horrified by some of the ignorance, recklessness, and self-righteousness displayed by certain distant or only passingly nearby "supporters." Some of them have had to be asked for silence or a return north, leaving the hard battle to those tough and wise enough, and especially flexible enough to know the power of the enemy, the supple strength of his social and economic institutions and the many chances, as well, of undermining them as well as assaulting them.

Still, the author does not back and fill between a story crying out for change in the ways Negroes and whites get along with one another and justi-

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fiable criticism of those whose efforts at change merely lead to worsened strife in the future. She gathers herself together and ends her story by insisting that deceptions exposed are ultimately if painfully better than compromises and falsehoods endured. Robert may have been gratuitous and ignorant in his intervention but his action reveals to the white community and to the wife of its segregationist politician the reality they have so long dodged. The town learns that economic ruin follows violence. A wife learns what she had really sensed all along, her husband's faulty, compromised nature.

The Specter of Science

by William E. Boggs

Wiser than ten thousand dusty tomes, the greying Sage conjures for us a vision: this is the Doleful City, where "the life man has made for himself is not worth living. . . . The voices of the hopeful are drowned out by the cries and curses of the despondent. . . . Our towering civilization is in fact an abyss of degrading misery [whose citizens] proclaim with conviction and unanimity their misery, their hatred of the times and of themselves."

Science: The Glorious Entertainment
by Jacques Barzun
(Harper & Row; $6)

No Dante he, just Jacques Barzun unfolding the ghastly spectacle wrought by those malignant genies, Science and Technology. His latest book projects a private and dismal vision of the impact of science on modern man. It is a quixotic blend of insight and misconception, biting precision and pompous generality, close reasoning and special pleading, brilliant phrases and disorganized chapters.

Disagreeing with C. P. Snow, Dean Barzun argues that there are not two cultures, but one, and that it is scientific. Science has displaced theology as the dominant force in Western thought just as the Machine has displaced the craftsman as the dominant force in business. The tyranny of scientific thought has corrupted man's mind; the indifferent sameness of the machine has erased him as an individual. We can escape, he warns, only by shedding the singlemindedness of the scientific viewpoint in favor of the many sided worldview of the arts, the law, and the Humanities – particularly history, which, unlike science, "leads to an understanding of men."

It is said that people are tired of the South and the Southern novel. Yet, I wonder where else in this country past history and present social conflict conspire to bring forth so much of the evil in people, so much of the dignity possible in people, so much of the "pity and terror" in the human condition. Looking at people living elsewhere, in bureaucratized passivity and efficiency, in faceless bustle, in cliché-riddled "progressive" comfort or sophisticated but paralysed bewilderment, we can turn to the South in horror and fascination, and on those counts alone, in some hope.

History as therapy is a familiar prescription to readers of Barzun's earlier books. He proposed it 20 years ago in "The Ivory Lab" (an essay in *Teacher in America*), but at that time the patient was only the undergraduate curriculum, not a whole society. By 1959 the cancer of science and the technological dry rot of our collective soul had apparently spread so far that Barzun worried (in *The House of Intellect*) about the conflict between science "and the proper work of the mind." By now he believes that science is desperately out of hand.

Although he has based his book on the questionable assumption that the modern world is a suburb of Hell (Dante thought the same of Florence during the Renaissance), Barzun's prose often sparkles with cleverness; his mind at its best has a fine cutting edge. He does a neat job of surgery on "The Cult of Research and Creativity," on the teaching of science, and on the behavioral "sciences." He is unafraid to criticize ideas that he does not fully understand, relying on his considerable intellectual powers to provide fresh in-

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Coup de Disgrâce"

"It was the Paris Opéra, all right, but it looked like something out of the Folies Bergère by way of the Grand-Guignol. Faust was hung up in a geodesic cage, 20 feet above the stage. Mephistopheles effeminately fluttered a bright, purple fan. Hideously deformed gremlins danced the twist on the table during the Last Supper, and Marguerite did a strip. Throughout last week's unveiling of the 'Damnation' as choreographed by Maurice Béjart, the usually staid Opéra audience roared an obbligato of cheers, boos, and cries of 'Vive la musique!' And when it was over the conductor and the choreographer were not only out of step—they were at war."

From a recent Newsweek Music column. A glimpse of how we read these days. Have you read Newsweek lately?

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sights. But for once this approach fails him, chiefly because of his misconceptions about the nature of science and the cast of the scientific mind. His peculiar blend of insight and misunderstanding evokes a comment made in another decade about another author: "How right! How wrong! How out of step with his times!"

Barzun begins by listing a number of widely-held "thought-clichés" about science, fostered by, among others, the leaders and popularizers of science. Among these clichés he lists the notion that technology, the offspring of science, is the cause of the troubles of our century – isolation, alienation, loss of social values, and the low estimate of art. This idea later emerges, in modified form, as the theme of the book.

He quickly disposes of the popular misconception that technology is merely applied science, correctly pointing out their separate historical origins. Science began as a method of inquiry, sired by thinkers who sought knowledge for its own sake; technology began as a deliberate effort to invent and improve tools and to harness power, and was the offspring of artisans who knew little or nothing about science.

In our time, however, this distinction has almost disappeared. No consortium of artisans, no matter how skilled, can expect to build a supersonic airliner or to guide a space vehicle into an interplanetary trajectory. Today engineering is largely applied science, and this fact leads Barzun to speak all too often of science when he means technology.

That he is at least partly aware of this confusion is evident from the attempt, early in the book, to redefine technology in a way that will include science. He substitutes the Greek word *techne* (meaning art, skill, regular method of making, craft, and cunning, as well as a *work* of craft, skill or cunning) to connote the "mixture of machine and soul at the basis of our scientific culture." This murky and ambiguous definition is crucial to his argument, for it enables him to refer to several loosely related things in one breath – for example, "the art or cunning of advertising which has developed with industry, or 'regular method of making'." In other words, it enables him to fuse science, technology and business into a single – and much more ominous – soul-destroying contraption. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, we cannot shut it off. "For all our anger against the prison [of our culture], we cannot now choke off the impulse to diversify the skill of the hand through tools, magnify its power, and so command matter."

Lest he give the impression that he is hostile to science, Barzun includes several disclaimers: "I affirm . . . that modern science is one of the most stupendous and unexpected triumphs of the human mind, just as modern machinery is a collection of breath-taking artifacts often too complacently received by a heedless, ignorant public." These are coupled with a few allusions implying that some of the author's best friends are scientists. Such statements, however, run against the whole grain of his argument and are thus unconvincing.

The title essay – perhaps the best in the book – explores the nature of science. To Barzun it is a "glorious entertainment": a game, because rules and chance determine the results and findings ("The word 'findings' misleads unless one thinks of them as the temporary close of a match later to be resumed"); deserving of glory, presumably because of the sweep and scope of its accomplishments, and because it satisfies man's instinct to know.

But as he sees it, the rules of the game are also its tragedy: Science forces man to choose between his critical and his imaginative powers. "In science, if you understand the terms you cannot help seeing the point; in art you see only if you see." He argues that science, in seeking the single cause of a phenomenon, also tends to seek the single solution; that science must rely on abstraction, disregarding differences to collect similars; and that this selection is a form of distortion which leads, in turn, to the bias of the specialist who sees Nature only in terms of his research.

These simplifications are especially insidious because they are only partly wrong. As an outsider, Barzun apparently cannot understand that in physics, as in poetry, there are sensuous visions of the architecture of nature, and that in mathematics, as in music, there are certain formal beauties. And for him to argue that once the definitions are clear, science becomes self-evident, is only to confess that he has

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Bloom and Boom"

"Part of the nation was shivering in slush; part was basking in the high 80s. So it couldn't have been just the weather that marked the return of spring to the U. S. last week. Spring came, rather, with a state of mind and a change of pace, with a stirring in the blood and a surge of hope. And what it may still have lacked in bloom, the season made up in boom."

From a recent Newsweek story.
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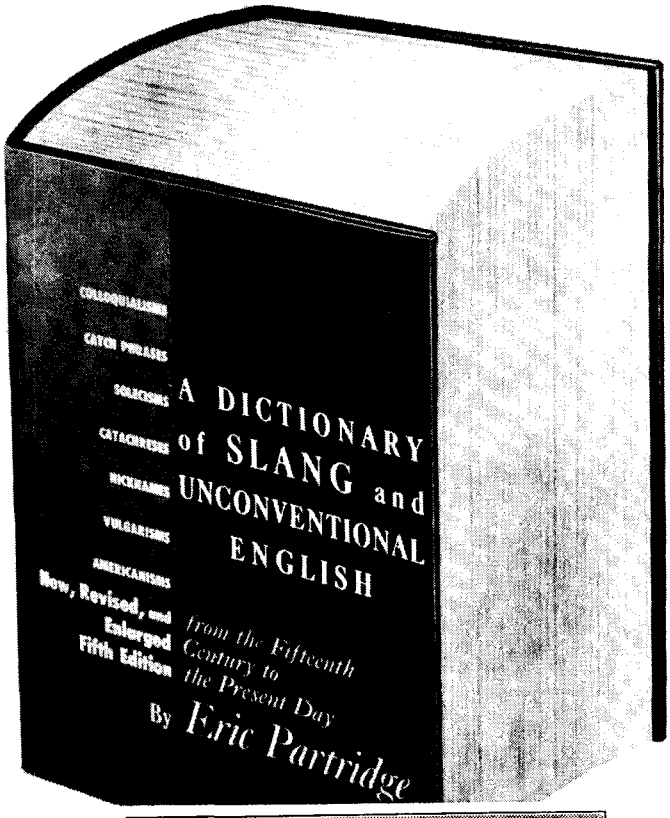

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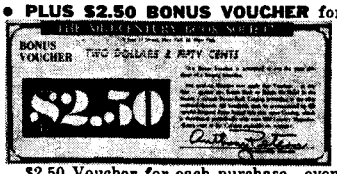
- **PLUS $2.50 BONUS VOUCHER** for each and every book you buy later. 

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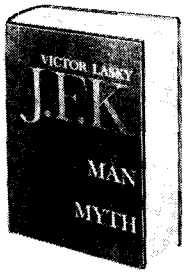

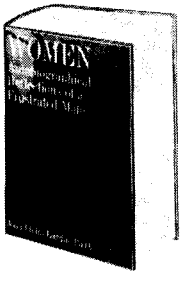

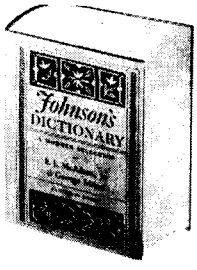

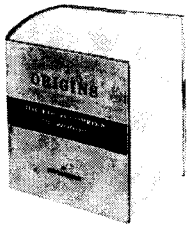

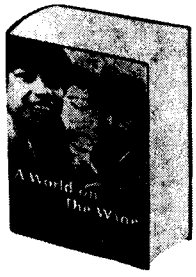

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never come to grips with a subtle and complex theorem.

The consequences of scientific abstraction represent a subtler issue, and Barzun displays to advantage his considerable powers of mind when he contrasts the sharply different viewpoints of science and the law. The generalizations of science do not hold for any particular individual, he explains, because they apply only statistically to the mass of objects. For example, when a scientist states that half of a given number of radioactive atoms will disintegrate in a given time he does not (indeed cannot) know which half, nor does he care; it makes no difference. But if a court of law, following the same statistical approach, jailed or hanged half of the accused brought before it, it *would* make a difference.

Fear that abstraction will lead to the tunnel vision of the specialist is a legitimate concern of the critic, but it is one that applies equally to scholars, scientists, and for that matter, businessmen. In fact Barzun's discussion of "The Cult of Research and Creativity" would be more properly addressed to the Humanities Faculty, advertising agencies, and the Harvard Business School than to scientists. In science, it is at least generally true that the deeper one plunges into a specialized line of research, the more he must study and understand related disciplines. Whether this holds for scholars and businessmen is another question.

Parallel to Brazun's one-dimensional view of the nature of science run his speculations about the mind of the scientist. (Engineers, so important to a discussion centered on "techne," are dismissed without mention.) Disturbed by the popular conception of the scientist as a man of genius, Barzun argues that the typical scientist is most likely a person of no more than average capacity; that his (the scientist's) will power and intelligence would make "only a negligible artist or philosopher, useless not to say harmful, except perhaps as a teacher."

This is a common failing among scholars in the Humanities: an inability to appreciate the workings of an abstract and mathematical intelligence – a mistake easy for a verbally gifted man to make when judging one who is not only non-verbal, but often inarticulate. Actually, Barzun's invidious comparisons only beg the question; the truth of the matter is that most scientists – like most artists and philosophers – are relatively unexceptional men. The mountains of each profession are left for the giants to scale, and science has at least its share of them.

After inflating the danger of science to such monstrous proportions, any author would be hard pressed to suggest some way to coax or squeeze the genie back into its bottle; Barzun's failure is embarrassing. He informs us that "what man needs is renewed contact with the world." Apparently this means that man must temper the ruthless and indifferent calculus of science with a broader, many-sided vision of life. Law and the arts provide a useful shift of perspective, but "the realm that most exactly balances the scientific and cannot be dismissed as optional is history." (Dean Barzun earned his Ph.D. in history.) Will this protect humanity? Scarcely. Barzun concedes that "there is no proof that the contemplation of error and evil in history has ever prevented a bad or foolish action."

And so he stands with one foot on either side of the hedge. Here is his cautious resolution of the dilemma: ". . . The historical arts give knowledge of persons. Their subject, man, being reconceived by mind and seen by imagination, *but not reduced to system* (italics mine), has the effect of keeping always in the foreground the fact of novelty, of uniqueness, of unpredictability." Man "will feel like an exile in his own place" until, armed by "multiple and simultaneous visions" of himself, he reasserts his right to be a moral and natural philosopher.

All in all, we could have expected something better than this from a brilliant man with a fine grasp of history, philosophy, and to some extent, science.

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Two Former Vice Presidents

by Gerald W. Johnson

The trouble here is that the author finds the soul-states of Mark Harris so much more interesting than those of Richard M. Nixon that a simple-minded reader, only languidly interested in either, is soon excessively fatigued.

The argument is that Harris, by a process involving two months of tortuous, and torturing, self-analysis and an interpretation of symbolic words and acts on Mr. Nixon's part, arrived at a conclusion that a reasonably intelligent officeboy should have reached in twenty minutes. The conclusion is that Nixon lacks both the intellectual and the temperamental equipment essential to success in a high official position.

Mark the Glove Boy, or, The Last Days of Richard Nixon
by Mark Harris
(Macmillan; $3.95)

A Time for Action
by Lyndon B. Johnson
with an Introduction by
Adlai E. Stevenson
(Atheneum; $3.95)

Having so decided Harris then wrote an article for *Life* which, he is perfectly sure, defeated Nixon in California. Unfortunately, he reproduces the article. It is not an attack on Nixon, advancing no valid reason for voting against him. On the surface it appears to be a cagy bit of water-carrying on both shoulders designed primarily to preserve the author's reputation for political sapience, no matter who won the election. Its devastating effect must have been symbolic, for it is certainly not manifest.

As a whole, this opus may be described as an exercise in preciosity; or as bilge.

A popular hit of a few years ago was "The Young Visitors" written by Daisy Ashford at (maybe) the age of nine. Daisy, having heard her parents discussing some new neighbors who were respectable and no doubt worthy, described them in a memorable line—"mere people, trying to be less mere."

Having, in appalling circumstances, succeeded to the dazzling Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson is inevitably confronted with the problem of being less mere, and this volume is patently an effort in that direction. It is a collection of Johnson's speeches before he became President, reinforced by a resolute and not unsuccessful effort by Adlai Stevenson to spotlight the subject.

But all it really does is prove what everybody knew before, namely, that Johnson is a first-rate man at team play when someone else is calling the signals. That, however, is irrelevant, for his primary job now is not to hit the line hard, but to plan the plays; and only by doing it can any man prove that he is up to that job.

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FILMS

Politics and Bedfellows

The Best Man (United Artists)
The World of Henry Orient (United Artists)

Gore Vidal has adapted his comedy, *The Best Man*, to the screen with dexterity. Franklin Schaffner has directed it with good visual and rhythmic sense and achieves the effect, so sweatily groped for by John Frankenheimer, of our being seated on the bow of a figurative ship, observant and calm, as waves of bustling people part on either side of us. The dialogue is bright, the cast – with one dreadful exception – is, at the least, good. The tone is more frisky and venturesome than one expects in an American political film. ("That's what I love about you, Joe. You sound like a liberal, but at heart you're an American.") Segregationists, the DAR, anti-intellectualism, as well as the machinations of machine politics, are all nicely stung. Yet on two important scores the film does not satisfy.

The first comes under a heading discussed here before, which may be called The Screen As Microscope. Some plot devices that are credible on stage do not convince when magnified on screen. The principal device in this film is blackmail, and counter-blackmail, between two rivals for the Presidential nomination. Senator Cantwell has discovered that Secretary Russell has a manic depressive episode in his past. Russell's friends discover that Cantwell was involved in a homosexual scandal in the Army. On stage this duel seemed convincing; on film the enlargement of plot pores makes the credibility superficial. We simply cannot believe that matters like these in the pasts of prominent men would not already be public knowledge. In these days of press, radio and television avidity, is it possible that a Secretary of State could have spent time in a mental hospital – however long ago – without some reporter discovering it? And could a senator who is a ruthless investigator have escaped at least as much investigation himself? (For example, Joe McCarthy's questionable judicial past and his lies about his military service were known at the height of his career.) Can we believe that an Army scandal, a matter of record, would not already have been ferreted out by his enemies? And, even conceding that secrecy was possible, can we concede further that such blackmail would not backfire on the blackmailer? What precedent in life does it have in politics on the national level?

The second and more important objection is based in the title. Russell, the cultivated hero with whom we sympathize, wants to stop Cantwell because he thinks Cantwell unfit and dangerous. How does Russell stop him at last? By getting out of the race and switching his delegates to an unknown candidate. Why is it a more fitting discharge of moral obligation to help elect an unknown as President, after fighting to protect the office from inadequacy? This maneuver is underscored by withdrawal from politics, with the clear implication that it is no activity for a civilized man. This comedy about the need for intelligent idealism in politics ends up by calling down a plague on all the houses. Whether or not one agrees with him, Russell pays considerable lip service to accepted political principles, but his final action speaks louder than his words. He opts out of responsibility under guise of doing the Right Thing. Ibsen may have been correct when he wrote, "The absolutely imperative task of a democracy is to make itself aristocratic;" but sure-

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

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"Rosalyn Drexler is a lightning creator. Painting, sculpture, literature leap from her like tongue-flicks from a chameleon. A robust girl in her middle 30s, her young Medea face has seen a lot, including a youthful tour as a lady wrestler ('It was one way to see the country'). This week she has something of a hammerlock on New York's avant-garde, with a show of new paintings at the Kornblee Gallery and her first play (with music) opening at the enterprising off-Broadway Judson Poets' Theater."

From a recent Newsweek Art column. A glimpse of how we read these days. Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Paul R. Wiecks *is the Washington correspondent for the Albuquerque, New Mexico,* Journal. Robert Coles *is a child psychologist who has written for numerous journals of medicine and psychiatry.* William E. Boggs, *a science editor for a New York publishing house, is a frequent contributor.*

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These people don't want to be "taken" by the power company –or any other monopoly

On February 12, 1962, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois called the attention of the United States Senate and the nation to a situation of prime importance to power company customers all over the country.

Senator Douglas pointed out that, "Ever since Congress passed the 1954 Internal Revenue Act, many public utilities have been reaping a bonanza at the expense of utility consumers. A number of utility regulatory jurisdictions . . . have permitted utilities to charge rates based on income tax allowances which far exceed their actual tax liability to the Treasury."

The Illinois Senator was referring to the tax laws which permit commercial power companies to collect from their customers money to be used for payment of taxes — *but money which in fact is not paid in to the United States Treasury*.

Power companies do not *pay* taxes in the sense that other businesses do. They *collect* taxes from consumers as a part of their rate base, and pass the money on to the Treasury. However, present tax laws permit them to keep substantial portions of these tax collections for their own use.

As Howard Morgan, then Vice Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, told a House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on February 28, 1963: ". . . consumers are being charged huge amounts representing phantom taxes which are not paid and in the opinion of most, if not all disinterested students of taxation, will never be paid. Worse still, these funds are re-invested in the corporation with the result that the ratepayer must pay a return on capital involuntarily extracted from him by the utilities."

America's non-profit rural electric systems share the concern of other power company customers in this matter. The rural electrics pay the commercial power companies more than $100-million a year for wholesale power. We do not think they should be permitted to keep and use for their own benefit those portions of the money they collect for taxes. We believe such money should be paid into the Treasury or returned to us and the other customers from whom it was collected in the first place.

Our suggestions for corrective action have been answered with a slashing and unfair propaganda attack on the rural electrification program.

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ly Russell should have known long before he entered the race that the United States has not yet heeded Ibsen. The conclusion is an ingenious switch, but it derails everything that the play has seemed to be advocating.

Henry Fonda could play Russell in his sleep but has refused to do so; it is an alert, humorous, rueful performance. Margaret Leighton, his wife, has little more to do than dare to wear spectacles and look middle-aged. Cliff Robertson is appropriately scary as the four-square, straight-talking twister, and Edie Adams is less inept than usual as his wife. The booby-trap into which the director and others have fallen is to cast a night-club monologist in a comic role: Shelley Berman plays an informer with his eye on the audience as vulgarly as the worst vaudevillian. But, happily, Lee Tracy repeats his Broadway performance of the hick ex-President. It is the "show" part of the script, well contrived by Vidal, and the skillful Tracy knows exactly what to do with it.

When *The World of Henry Orient* began, I was surprised to see that the credits listed two cinematographers, Boris Kaufman and Arthur J. Ornitz. Matters clarified. Early in the film two 14-year-old girls rampage around New York, romping in parks, jumping over hydrants, taking us on a gamboling tour of the city. Much of this sequence is photographed with that slowed motion and empathetic view that lent loveliness to the boys' gamboling in Jean Vigo's *Zéro de Conduite* (1933). Vigo's photographer was Boris Kaufman, who (it seems logical to assume) was brought in here, as youth-lyricism expert, for those sequences only.

This picture is one of the few kinds of American film worth getting irritated about. The blatantly commercial movie or the adulterated "problem" picture is past both criticism and redemption. But *World* is almost a film of some truth and consequence, and falls short because it is unable to shuck lavishness of production and some stereotypes of character. Two 14-year-olds pursue a conceited concert pianist on whom one of them has a crush, lingering outside a restaurant where he is having a rendezvous, loitering on the doorstep across the street from his house. As the pianist practices womanizing more

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than music, he is wary anyway, and the kids soon make him paranoiac. The teen-age dialogue is funny, and the two young ladies, Tippy Walker and Merrie Spaeth (especially the former), are taking. Peter Sellers plays with uncanny accuracy the pianist from Brooklyn who puts on a "lounge-lizard" continental accent. (His audacity must be underscored. Would any American comedian – Kaye or Lemmon, for instance – go to Britain to play a cockney in an English picture? How many comedy stars in any country would accept a thoroughly repellent role?)

But the reality of the girls and their adventurings, the satire of the pianist and his philanderings, are maimed by lushness and sentimentality elsewhere. The home of the one girl who *has* a home is so magazine-perfect, the mother is so patently out of soap-opera and her wisecracking companion out of Moss Hart, the bandleader Peter Duchin is miscast with such feeble cleverness as a lover, the whole is dragged on so long and spread so wide to make a "major" production, that the small spell which this film might have cast is denied it. This is doubly regrettable because George Roy Hill, the director, has done as much for Manhattan as most Paris films do for that city – a pictorial ode that triumphs over Elmer Bernstein's oddly Western-range score. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Sex and the College Girl

Sirs:

Allow me to commend Christopher Jencks for his amazingly perceptive review of *Sex and the College Girl* (April 4). What a contrast it was to the usual nonsense written about the subject. The topic of college and sex has been the victim of so much recent verbiage that one had all but given up hope of seeing anything actually relevant to reality appear in print. This review, for once, challenged the easily mouthed term of "revolution" and viewed the problem as it actually appears to college students. The concern for those who are not part of the social swirl was the most salient comment yet. You have performed a valuable service.

Larry Simonberg
Editor-in-Chief
Queens College Phoenix

Says Christopher Jencks in his review (April 4) of *Sex and the College Girl:*

> "My only quarrel with all this (sexual affluence) is that sex, like money, still seems to be in short supply. Some people undoubtedly have more than they know what to do with, but most don't."

This, it seems to me, is a very apt observation, and Jencks' excellent analogy between sexual deprivation and the "case poverty" certainly clinches the point most emphatically.

What I would like to add to Mr. Jencks' comment is some information from a little-known book, *The Sexually Deprived: A National Disgrace,* written by Prof. Orber Rebro and covering the very subject which Mr. Jencks is concerned about. Unfortunately, the book sold only 628 copies before it was withdrawn from publication by Accolade Press, an event which was followed by Rebro's hasty departure for Mexico just as the American Association of University Professors was about to initiate censure proceedings against an unnamed university.

But to get to the matter at hand, Professor Rebro, as some readers of *The New Republic* may not realize, has been known for over thirty years as an advanced thinker in this area of sexual deprivation. For example, in 1932 he was quoted as saying, "I see one-third of a nation shy, inhibited, repressed and sexually deprived." Thirty years later, after making a nationwide survey of sex mores on American campuses, he came up with a succinct, "Deprivation in the midst of plenty." Is it any wonder that this turned out to be the author of what may yet be the most influential book since *Life Against Death?*

Space does not permit a complete summary of Rebro's book, which incidentally exploits the disciplines of anthropology, psychoanalysis, and biochemistry most brilliantly, but perhaps mentioning a few of his recommendations would suffice. First of all, he suggests a crash program, financed by the federal government, with an aggressive director who will really do something about eliminating pockets of sexual deprivation on our college campuses. One of the most ingenious recommendations is that the government subsidize certain used car dealers and provide automobiles with back seats for those to whom sex is in short supply. Another plan: mass psychoanalysis for cases of insufferable repression. Still another: implementing of the "Harvard Plan," which means simply equalizing the male-female ratio on our campuses by bussing co-eds from campuses where they are in excess to those where they, like sex, are in short supply. And one of Professor Rebro's minor innovations: revive the "Personals" column of *The Saturday Review.*

Interestingly enough, Mr. Jencks and Professor Rebro both arrive at the

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same conclusion – that what is commonly called the "Sexual Revolution" is really no revolution at all and that not until *all* of our college students enjoy the benefits of sexual affluence will our nation be strong and free.

Burling Lowrey
Washington, D. C.

As a former college girl and present mother of one, I would like to express a few thoughts on Christopher Jencks' article, *Sex and the College Girl.*

His conclusion can probably be summed up in his sentence reading, "My guess is that they (the sexually untouchable) are the real losers as campus mores change." He further states that "sexual relationships are one of the few props on which they [college students] can lean."

The question which arises is, "What advice can I give my children in this kind of society?" Shall I encourage my daughter to seek security in some kind of relationship with the opposite sex, so she won't feel "left out?" What a sad thing, this constant grasping at others for self-fulfillment! I would urge my children to develop their own inner capacities first; then everything else, friends, love, security, would come. Disciplines for the development of inner strength would be brought to their attention.

Of course all this means resistance to the dictates of our social mores, and a view of man as more than a social or physical animal. But somewhere in our pathetic society a start must be made. Let us not continue to disgrace the concept of manhood by encouraging our children to cling to such a shaky prop as their sexual attractiveness.

Susan Walters
Albion, Nebraska

Have we dismissed morality as an ideal for society? It would seem so from the remarks made by Christopher Jencks concerning "Sex and the College Girl."

It appears that he is more concerned with the mental frustration borne by the "uninvited" college student than with the moral consequences accruing to those "lucky" enough to have had a chance to indulge.

Since he is worried about the anxieties of these poor "uninvited," does he not also recognize that the mental burdens which must and will be borne by the "Partakers" will be much greater than is suggested?

On a higher level, shall we have our colleges, churches, and nation relax their moral code in order to facilitate the increasingly common behavior of the minority? I hope not.

Let us not discard ideals to suit conditions but let us, as a nation, reaffirm our moral convictions. Let us, as rational beings, lead, and not be led by, our emotions.

David Whipple Jr.
Houston, Texas

Today, reading is being emphasized in high schools as it has never been before. Our school is proud of its library and the degree to which it is used. A serious effort is made to provide a variety of choice books and magazines for our young readers.

Bear with me further and speculate on your recent articles on sex. As a broadminded person who has worked 27 years with boys and girls, I wonder if this type of material should be made available to all.

Did it ever occur to your writers and editorial department that such articles might further stimulate the interest and curiosity of these young people? Certainly across the nation, on campuses, in high schools, in the rural and suburban areas, there are hundreds of thousands of well adjusted youth who enter college for something more than sex.

Why print these statistics? Why advocate the use of contraceptive devices and pills? Why infer that non-participants in premarital sex activities are more thwarted than those who do? Have you ever had an occasion to work with a girl whose "psychological satisfaction" resulted in a pregnancy?

Let's face facts and instead of collecting so much data, why not direct your energy and wisdom towards helping correct the situation. As it stands now, your magazine is of no higher quality than those publicly banned by P.T.A.s, church groups, and our learned populace.

Helen Arnold
Guidance Chairman
Harbor Creek High School
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A Second Canal

Sirs:

As a Representative in the Congress from Pennsylvania assigned to the Subcommittee on Defense of the House Committee on Appropriations who has studied the interoceanic canals question over many years, I read with much interest the article, "A Second Canal" in the March 28, 1964, issue of *The New Republic.* Of all the problems that now face our country, I can think of no single one that is more gravely important or that more urgently requires an objective and comprehensive presentation to the people. I trust that the editors of *The New Republic* will apply their broad resources to the task of clarifying the many-sided but basically simple canals question. In this connection, I would emphasize the fact that the United States cannot afford to have its taxpayers provide funds for any canal project unless our government is accorded adequate authority for the construction, maintenance and operation of the enterprise.

Daniel J. Flood
House of Representatives

John Finney's article disturbs me. Due to the eventual obsolescence of the present Panama Canal, Mr. Finney's thought of constructing a modern canal is a necessary and good one for the near future. However, I am in complete disagreement as to his proposed methods.

Through the wisdom and foresight of our late President Kennedy and the majority of the American people who have been fighting for a glimmer of hope in this nuclear age, we managed to pass a limited Test Ban Treaty. This was passed not only to reduce the risk of war but also to limit the poisonous atomic "fallout." We hope to strengthen this Treaty with eventual disarmament. The Test Ban Treaty is not a year old, and Mr. Finney is already advocating amendments to the Treaty allowing us to use nuclear devices for our own economic aims. This weakens the Treaty. We have no clean nuclear device to construct canals. What is the difference in exploding a 170 megaton device (which I note is for the shortest of his five proposed canal routes) and testing a 170 megaton bomb in Nevada? None – they both release "radioactive fallout." It is cheaper – yes – but is it worth the risk of weakening our long fought for Peace Treaty? A first amendment to the Treaty should be one to strengthen it, not to weaken it as he proposes.

Mr. Finney's comments on the "voters" in Utah and Nevada is rather cynical and callous, I think. Perhaps they should be considered as human beings with the God-given concern for their children.

Nancy Montgomery
New York City

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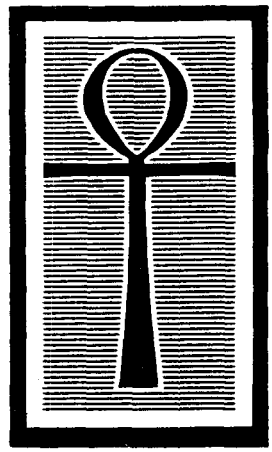

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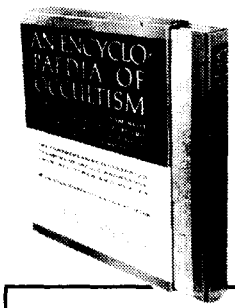

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